634 /73/ The former adat community head, still a young man
612 in 1916, belonged to two groups of relatives which lived
621 together, one in Borongrappo, the other in Parang Banua. When he became head in that year, the members of both groups gladly regarded themselves as his kinsmen. For both he was a very prominent kinsman to whom they preferred to turn with requests for help and at whose festivals they liked to
[361] make their appearance. The kampong Parang Banua, where the new head lived in the beginning, is separated from the rest of the adat community by the Djene'berang River. It was somewhat inaccessible. At the urging of the administration, the head moved with a number of followers and kinsmen from Parang Banua to kampong Borongkaluku, bordering on Borongrappo. Others followed him later.

Now, about 30 years later, the adat community head with a certain pride referred to all the residents of the three kampongs, Borongkaluku, Borongrappo, and Parang Banua, as his kinsmen. He permitted his children to marry kinsmen from at least two of these groups.

571 A number of marriages have been contracted in the course
612 of the years between the Borongrappo and Borongkaluku groups of relatives. There is regular contact between the two. A number of houses belonging to people of Borongkaluku have already been built close to those of Borongrappo. An integrated related group, however, has not developed. The fact that the
[778] Borongrappo group kept its own ornament is probably one of the most important reasons for this circumstance.

The group at Borongkaluku, which initially formed a unit with that of Parang Banua, tends to form a separate group around the adat community head. The tendency toward separation is increased by the difficulty of communication across the Djene'berang River. There are also signs that the maintenance of existing ties is valued. The regular contracting of marriages between the two is an example of this. The tie
[764] with the dead is another. A number of people who died were

571 /73 cont./ buried in Borongkaluku. But the adat community
612 head who is of advanced age has already stated that he wants
064 to be buried in Parang Banua, close to the place where his parents and uncles likewise lie buried.

An Ornament In Statu Nascendi

532 There is a small, crudely carved wooden image approxi-
778 mately 25 centimeters high wrapped in a dirty white cloth
612 in the pantasa' of the house belonging to the Kapala of /74/
669 Bontoromba. The father of the present-day Kapala had carved this himself and given it ot his son, who told me about it. It was shown to me with a certain reverence, but nevertheless also with a certain shyness. There was no sign of its being worshipped by the kinsmen of the Kapala. No tomanurung myth was connected with it. What is the significance of this little image which is kept in such an important place?

It has already been pointed out that the Kapala group is a young but already well-integrated group of relatives. The tie with Pakatto is present, but it is weak.

114 Kooreman has pointed out that the assumption of conquest as one of the most important causes for the formation of kingdoms is irreconcileable with their federal administration (1). He believed instead that this cause lies in a voluntary

1. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 194.

act of joining the federation and submission to the authority of a tomanurung. "One should not imagine that the time of the Tomanoeroengs is past," he wrote in 1883 (2).

2. See Kooreman, op. cit., p. 193.

Gorontolo OG4

Atjehnese OD4
Makassar OG6
Halmahera OH12
Borneo OC1
Nias OD11

At 764 755 I 764 755 N G B H M 764 755 N 764

[169 cont.] time she has unraveled the tangled thread and threaded the broken needle day will break and she will have to put off her lugubrious outing until the next night.

The openings in the face of an ordinary corpse are covered over many times because the organs of sense can no longer be used.

When it comes to the burial, the first thought is to make it as difficult as possible for the deceased to find his way back to the house. For this reason, the corpse is not taken through the usual exit but through a hole made in the bamboo walls of the house (southern Celebes, Halmahera, Borneo). On Nias, the corpse of a woman who has died in childbed is taken outside through the flooring. The heathen Minahasa go quickly around the house several times with the corpse to confuse the deceased. Sometimes stakes are placed along the road to the burial ground, or one makes a great noise or starts a fire or returns from the burial ground at a trot or along a different path.

At the burial ground itself there are ceremonies that indicate no one wants any more to do with the deceased. We noticed several times at Chinese burials that a coconut would be split in two, one half was thrown in the grave and the other half was kept by the mourners. Or a piece of rattan was torn in half lengthways and the one half placed in the grave and the other kept. The idea behind this is that in the same way as the two halves of the coconut or rattan can never come together again, so the separation between the deceased and those he left behind is complete.

On Nias a cloth is sometimes torn in two over the shoulder of the deceased.

[170] Often the grave is dug so that the deceased lies with his head toward his house. This is done chiefly with persons who have suffered violent death. They are not looking in the direction of their house and are not so likely to be filled with thoughts of revenge. Furthermore the grave is oriented toward the west because it is in the west that the entrance to the land of

Timor OF20
Bali OF7
Toradja OG11
Makassar OG6
Ambon OH4

I [172 cont.]
769 of giving the deceased his possessions to this extent. Along this
I same line there is the custom of cutting off the hair upon the
[762] death of a royal personage, as was the practice [173] [illustra-
Tm tion appears here] [174] on Timor. One did not give his whole
[765] life, but a part of the whole (pars pro toto).

I When none of his own clan members followed the deceased
[174 in death, they tried to satisfy him by offering someone else.
782] Another notion was later added to this idea of satisfying the
764] dead, that of sending along the soul of the sacrifice as a servant and, still later, as an attribute of courage, in order to facilitate the entry of the deceased into the realm of the dead.

Usually a head was cut off; sometimes a slave from a neighboring tribe was bought and killed. If the dead man was a prince,
B it was customary for several people to be offered as sacrifices.
[764] In former times on Bali as many as thirty people were sometimes sacrificed at the death of a prince.

Even where human sacrifices are no longer offered, the idea that the deceased should be accompanied in death is still preserved in another form in various customs.

Tr When a chief of the Toradja on Poso Lake dies, a slave family
[764 has to go and live on the grave. The family is looked upon as
768] dead and nobody is allowed to speak to it or to refuse any request it might make. Even after the festival of the dead, the presumptive death of the slave family is still maintained.

M Among the Buginese (Islamites) it is customary for the slave
●[764] who catches the water in which the corpse has been washed to be declared free. The idea is that he or she is sacrificed in this way and is dead.

There are suggestions of these sacrifices to the dead among the Islamites (see the chapters, "Islam" and "Ceremonies and
A Customs"), as well as among some of the Christians, for example,
775 the Ambonese. On the third day after death, the deceased be-
765 comes conscious of the fact that he is dead. The Ambonese
797 Christians assemble in the house of the deceased on this third day and sing psalms into the night.

MK 538 [574] [186 cont.] principally bânni = cracked rice, which sounds like mabanni = spend the night. The Buginese simply wanted to say "remain overnight." One can see that the play on words is farfetched. MK [539] The elong in the basa Bakkâ cannot be understood without explanation. Here is another example. "Do not try to satisfy your passion, because then you always would have only bale ta-kesâssi = fish without scales at home. This bale ta-kesâssi in the basa to-Bakkâ makes one think specifically of a fish awu-awu. This word also means "oh! alas!" The words "then you would only 'have scaleless fish at home'" are meant to express [187] then you would have only 'oh,' 'alas,' that is, distress and misery, in your house. Before taking leave of the elong, we must mention a particular kind, the so-called elong osong, war songs.

B RL 538 Besides these shorter poems with four verses, the literature of the peoples named has longer poems. Among the Batak, Lampong, and Redjang, these are romantic or historical poems, which, however, are still not very well known. We are better MK 538 informed about those of the Makassarese and Buginese, called, respectively, tolo and sinrili, which can best be compared with the Malayan sjair. The parallelism mentioned above is very much in evidence in them. Among these poems there are often very beautiful ones, especially among the Makassarese, which excel in bold images and striking contrasts. As an example, one MK [764 114] should read the sinrili No. 53 of Dr. Matthes' Makassaarsche Chrestomatie, a funeral song by a wife for her husband.

Some sinrili or tolo are heroic lays, of which a few deal with subjects from modern times. For instance, a Buginese epic deals with the Boni war. There are some older ones, however, such as La Galigo, which is written in old, obsolete Buginese MK [773 776] and understood by only a few. The content is of a mythological nature and deals with the adventures of Batara Goeroe (the supreme deity) and his descendants on earth, among whom is La Galigo (1). As a poetical product La Galigo is of little value

1. Wilken, Animisme, Part 2, pp. 232-233.

Makassar 066 ●
Timor 0F20
Batak ODE
Borneo OC1
Land Dyak OC8
Ambon OH4

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Bt
Br
842
776
775

[202 cont.]

v.d. Ind. Archipel [Animism among the peoples of the Malay Archipelago], Vol. II, p. 196.

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I
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The belief in the pontianak is general throughout the archipelago, among the Mohammedans and Christians, as well as among the pagans. Evidence of this is the name of the capital of Borneo's western division, Pontianak, built, as is known, on an island. According to the natives, before the town was built the island was inhabited by pontianak who were driven off by gunfire, but their name was given to the town (4).

4. Veth, Borneo's Westerafdeeling, Vol. I, p. 13.

MK
A
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We have just said that all women who die before their confinement are changed into pontianak. Some peoples try to prevent this, for example, the Ambonese, who treat the corpses in a special way. [203] When the body is put in the coffin the arms and legs are pricked with pins, and three eggs are put under the chin and both arms. The hair is wound around a nail driven into the coffin, and the whole corpse is covered with pieces of fish bones (1). Something similar is done among the Makassarese (1)

1. Ludeking, Schets v.d. res. Amboina [Sketch of the Ambon Residency], p. 166. Matthes, Bijdrage t. d. Ethnologie v. Z. Celebes, p. 97.

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T
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In order to protect themselves from the influence of pontianak, pregnant women sometimes carry a knife, as on Timor (2), or then again other objects (3).

2. Veth, Timor, p. 42.

3. Riedel, de Kroes- en sluikharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua [The Curley and Straight-haired Races between Celebes and Papua], see Index under zwangerschap [pregnancy].

Enggano OD6

Gorontalo OG4
Javanese OE5
Sula ONI5
Makassar OG6
Toradja OG4

M S U I 304 171 764 [236 cont.]

Concerning the age at which the teeth are filed, it should be noted that it commonly coincides with the onset of puberty or entering into wedlock. It is also worthy of note that sometimes the teeth are not filed until after the death of the nearest blood-relatives. For instance, this is the case among the Alfoer of the Minahasa, in the Kedoe Residency, in the environs of Benkulen, on the Sula Islands, and on Salayar, which indicates that tooth-filing was once a mourning custom, corresponding to the practice current in Polynesia of breaking out a couple of teeth as an act of mourning when a death occurs.

E T I 304 585

In the Malay Archipelago teeth are not broken out for that purpose, but as a necessary ceremony at the celebration of a marriage. For instance, this is done among the tribes of central Celebes and the people of Enggano. It therefore appears that tooth-filing and the tooth-breaking are parallel; in other words they are identical.

I 304 174

This is of great importance for an answer to the question of the original significance of the mutilation of teeth; although nowadays most of the peoples of the archipelago file the teeth only for beautification, it seems to me that a deeper meaning lies behind it.

I have just indicated that breaking out the teeth occurs in Polynesia as a mourning custom and is analogous to tooth-filing for the same reason among some tribes of the Malay Archipelago. This custom, however, does not stand alone, but is often linked with other self-mutilations which involve blood-shed, the blood of which should be considered a sacrifice to the dead, whereby, in giving part of the body, in this case blood, the principle pars pro toto is put into practice. The supposition that mutilation of the teeth was originally a similar [237] sacrificial act is, therefore, far from improbable.

I [585 302]

Likewise, breaking the teeth out or filing them on the occasion of marriage must originally have been a sacrificial act whose original religious significance was later lost and it survived only as a social institution analogous to the ritual

[426 cont.]
masters if he can find someone who is willing to pay his debt to his master. This is more or less a brighter side of bondage, because a bondman can, if he has a bad master, at least try to improve his lot. Apart from this difference, bondage and slavery are very much alike. Many people look down on bondmen with as much disdain as on slaves.

In Celebes, more specifically among the Buginese and Makassarese, persons become slaves through debts. It can happen that a person has many debts, his own or inherited ones, which he cannot pay himself and which the family refuses to pay. If the creditor agrees that the person may work for him until the debt has been paid, then he becomes a bondman, but if the creditor is not satisfied with that and neither the sovereign nor the hadat (state council) loans the money, then the debtor is sold (1)

1. Niemann, "De Latowa," Bijdr. T., L. en Vlk, v. Ned. Ind., 4th series, Vol. VIII, p. 227.

and becomes the slave of whomever buys him. Furthermore, one becomes a slave by selling himself, by being sold as a prisoner of war, or as punishment for wrongdoing against the state council or the sovereign.

The slaves may be declared free if the behave well or if they buy their freedom.

[427] A special instance when slaves are declared free is at funerals. We mentioned this earlier for Bali; here we want to point to the Batak and Buginese, among whom the same custom exists (1).

1. Van der Tuuk, Bat. Wrdb., see mangalopas (lopasan). Neumann, Tijdschrift Ned. Aard. Gen., Vol. IV, p. 40.

184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
565 adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little attention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the common man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what happens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo killings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
771 at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
184 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small, playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are believed to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, however, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs, the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar business and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep research, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

342 Balombaru, August 31, 1949: At eight in the morning I
177 went with Rahim to the village of Balombaru and to the house of Saleh, my assistant. On the outside was a sign saying "Toekang Mas" [goldsmith]. The workshop is located in a space underneath the house. The house is set along the road on its long axis. The upper part is made largely of wood, topped with a corrugated roof. It is green. Rahim said that this is largely of alien style, brought by Makassarese sailors from Singapore. There are three windows at the side, but this is functionally the front, and Rahim said that this was according to custom, that is, there must be three windows.
342 The center part of the house is the main part and in front of
775 this the males must not sleep else the evil spirits of dead,
178 unmarried, adult women will harm them (these are not
●764 pontianak). The left window (looking out) is the lesser of the
513 two. Through it, in the old days, a corpse was always removed. This custom is no longer observed, but the old folk think that it should be. The inside of the house is rather spacious and there are plenty of people around. From the plan, however, I see that there are not so many people in each house.

272 We were served thick, black, good coffee, and later cocoa
124 water. I got the biggest cup with a cover. My assistant has done very well, especially with a complete ground plan and census of the village by houses.

632 I started with this census and map. Balombaru is a kam-
624 pong complex (kampong complet) including four kampongs
625 proper. Evidently, in earlier times, these were separate.
102 The Dutch unified them under one kepala kampong. (How well things go here with Rahim's help!) In each of the kampongs there is a seriang, that is, a helper of the kepala kampong. Under each of these there is a "division" of kampong police, two to five individuals in each kampong. Balombaru is one of the five kampong complexes in the parasangan Karawisi (which is like the wanua of the Buginese). Thus there are five kepala kampongs under the karaëng. These in order of size are: Djongaya with five kampongs, Karawisi (proper) with four (?) kampongs, Balombaru with four kampongs, Rapotjini with six kampongs, and Gusungdjonga with four kampongs. Thus there are about twenty-three kampongs in all, under five kepala kampongs. The kepala kampongs, they said, were ranked according to the size of their respective kampongs. (See plan on page 47, field notes)[Page 266 here]

368 There are three mosques in parasangan Karawisi. There is a big one in Djongaya, and two others respectively in

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

●764 Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
565 grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photo-
graph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave
stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and
small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are al-
most not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site
of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose)
on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the
house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died
last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that al-
though these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally
"slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photo-
graph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together
his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the
782 Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
4/2 effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers,
etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young
ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son
follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths
now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop
found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This be-
longed to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large
knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows
really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a
student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
758 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum
and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless
the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows.
These dwelling places are much better than native houses.
There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the
children especially get leprosy, and that when children are
born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

2162 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
689 ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a
[541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
● 764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old
513 habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone
682 and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some
505 extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls'
842 ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
574 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

● 764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

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the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on.

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I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist.

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed

000 down from father to son within the ruling family. He said that Ternate once ruled over most of the Moluccas and up into the Philippine Islands. Tidore ruled mainly over New Guinea. Batjan, the other sultanate, was small and less important. This Sultan is a remarkable man and I will talk further with him when I read over my notes on Halmahera.

764 346 177 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Sixth day: I had to leave at eleven in the morning to go to Bone. I went at once to the graves of the radjas nearby and at Kale Goa. I noted that all of the tombs of the hundred-year ago type ("beehive") had an urn on top. I also noted that the mosques around here and also the shrine buildings have urns on top. (Later, in Watumpone, I noted that a mosque had, instead of the urn, a stone decoration which looked like an urn) This urn business must be a survival of the old mortuary use (or could it be a mere imitation of the onion shape of Byzantine decoration, which an urn approximates?). I had seen the beehive tombs near the Shrine of the Pigrimage the day before, as well as the large cemetery of regular graves. A bit further on I saw another mosque, and near it many more beehive tombs. I went into several of them.

764 782 778 Then I went on to Kale Goa, and on the plateau stand many older type tombs (see photographs), of rough stones, with low doors. And I also noted even older ones, near stone heap mounds. An old man said that the latter were from Hindu times, the former from the time of Datu ri Bandang, in the early seventeenth century, who was the introducer of Islam here. In one of them I saw people sitting crouched down. Several of them were from Pangkadjene, which is quite a distance away, and they had come to make requests. All this is amazing. Then, on a slight, rectangular, earth mound was the coronation stone of Goa. It is small and flat and low. It fell from heaven. Over it is a small gnarled tree which never grows nor diminishes. Nearby is a small fence around another larger and rounder stone which also fell from the sky. There is one beehive tomb here (photograph).

773 778 I then walked down a little valley to a small kampong, the old man telling me stories about Tumanurung [a legendary figure of unknown origin who married Karaëng Bayo. The couple became mythological founders of the Goa nobility--Analyst] and others the whole time. We reached a well which evidently also features in the cycle of the legend. Nevertheless, it is being used at the present time, and there was a woman there washing a white buffalo with water. I forgot to say that under the round stone is the dried-up well where Goa warriors used to wash for invulnerability before

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

793 838 548 535 [791] 212 171

They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

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Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

764● 562 178 554 782 796

As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

517 546

Makassar OG6
Sadang OG8

office and even to Batavia. The trouble with Wadjo is that many letters there are left unanswered because friends of the corrupt administration are involved. But the controleur is catching them, as he gets copies in the office at Watumpone and then goes to Wadjo and asks why no answer. This is evidently the reason, or one of them, that the Wadjo folk are ready to revolt against the radja and the government. The letters are written by letter writers, who charge a fee to write them in most kampongs. M 695 661 668 212

In regard to Wadjo and Soppeng, Denzo said that the latter is pretty good and that the radja sees this is an overgangstijd [transitional period], as does his administration. Thus the situation is not so bad. But he agrees that Wadjo is awful.

Incidental: I see from the Sadang notes that the swing [During the period of rice ripening, swings are made of ratan, rope, and buffalo hide. The swings are attached to the branch of a tree. In some areas (Kesu, Sadang, and Balusu) boys and girls swing together. Swinging is done to promote the growth of the grains of rice. In some parts of the Sadang area (e.g., Rimbon), the swinging is done by women who also sing a song of gratitude for a good harvest. This custom apparently survives principally as a children's game. All references to swinging will be found in category 524.--Analyst] is used during the entire period of rice planting or rice ripening. S 524 243

I noted that the three-window front of a house, which I had thought was specifically Makassarese, is also found on Buginese houses in the mountains, for example in Soppeng. Thus all that has happened is that the Makassarese have kept it well, while the Buginese in the coastal and other areas tend to lose it. M 342 178

On the way up to Makale, I saw plenty of Toradja, including a coffin on a platform in the yard. The platform was made of bamboo. Bohn in Paloppo and my notes on van der Veen say that this is probably the Luwu group of Sadang. And Bohn corroborates that many are descendants of slaves who were brought there. They live mainly in separate kampongs from the Buginese and there are very few mixed kampongs. They have little social contact, except trading. They practically never intermarry. M 563

On the way in I noticed that the place around Rantepao is full of niche graves. Nearly every appropriate rock face has at least one, together with an ornate door. In these rather solitary ones, however, I did not notice the tautau. M 764 ●

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764 Also, every time I looked more closely, I saw more stone circles. The hills are full of them. I saw through my glasses a small death feast on the hillside near Rantepao. There was a circle, a platform, and people all around.

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871 In regard to payment for school tuition, I noted that it is
797 starting in Bone next month. Boer said that next month they are going to try to start it in the Makale region too. This seems to be a sign that they are really bankrupt. I asked Boer about this and he agreed that the Sadang are better off than the people in Bone by far because the missions give them free schooling and also other services. They bring f. 200,000 per year into the district. Bone gets nothing from the outside.

S
124 Marante, September 13, 1949. First day: A complete
551 failure. I went to the house of my assistant whose adult
[115] name is Datu Palinggi and he reminded me that Sa'lita was his child name. He seemed a bit put out that I used the latter. He was not in, but the district head of Kessu (in which Marante is situated as one of the kampongs) was there and he said that Datu Palinggi was in Makale for a Bible conference. I talked a bit with the district head, and he said that Palinggi is a big man in the kampong, and could become

S
527 kepala kampong. Kessu is a big district, including, I think,
782 Rantepao. Papajungan used to be the kepala of it. The dis-
764 trict kepala also said that the mabua [a communal feast with
634 offerings to invoke fertility and welfare--Analyst] feast is
751 seldom given as it costs too much. He said that his father had seen one but that he had never seen one himself. Van der Veen later said that he saw one many years ago. The district kepala also said that mabugi and maro and merauk [communal feasts with offerings to combat or expel illness--Analyst] are rare. Thus only death feasts carry on as a regular thing. But the big ones come next month, of course. I may be able to see some small ones. A big one is being arranged in kampong Tau near Rantepao, for the dead father of the district kepala. They will kill 160 buffaloes and 300 pigs. He was a high tomakaka. I hope to see his body soon.

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124 Then I went to Rantepao where I was told that my assistant was in Makale. I found him with the Domine Pol and two other Dutch people, and two native Christians. Pol was reading the Bible in Sadang and the others were listening with bowed heads. I arranged to see him later at which time he said that he had to work every day with van der Veen, so we went to see the latter, but to no avail. So, as Palinggi said the Papajungan had done much of the work on the schedule

Makassar OG6
Toradja OG11

his status. The Kepala kampong repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners. He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves. M 567

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik). M 565 851 582 567

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampong of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampong said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much. M 563 T 186 167 191 177 M 565

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully. 582

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampong said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two M 764 174 [563]

764 hundred years old and may show that Mohammedanism here
174 came in a little later than in Goa. These tombs seem to date from the period of conversion to Mohammedanism, judging from the dates, especially in Goa. In this cemetery there are also modern, ordinary graves.

The Kepala kampong said that before the war there were many fine urns on the tombs, but the Dutch controleur had taken them. Later on van Heekeren told me that the Japanese took a lot of these urns too.

346 We went to look at the old and the new mosques. Both have
174 urns on top, as in Goa. The one on the old mosque has blue and white figures on it; the one on the new mosque is brown, apparently of a solid color. I asked van Heekeren, and he said that all mosques have these urns, even in the Paloppo and Luwu areas. He says that these urns are of Chinese origin and were formerly used to hold the ashes and charred bones (i.e., some of the bones) of the cremated bodies, before Islam came in. Van Heekeren is sure that there is not very much Hindu influence here; the urn burial trait is not
[126] Hindu but merely pre-Islamic Makassarese and Buginese. I took some photographs and gave some polaroid prints to the Kepala kampong, of him and his wife in Hadji dress, with their little daughter (perhaps one and a half years old, who waves when you say dag [hello or good-bye--Analyst]).

000 While we were talking about slaves an old fellow came in and stood at the foot of the stairs mentioning something to the Kepala kampong. He was the slave of the assistant chief (seriang). They talked in a very low whisper.

838 Talking with Andi, I brought up the homosexual matter
793 again. He maintains that homosexuals are numerous here.
778 The official ones are attached to the aradjang and at the head of them is the puang matoa, chief of the bissu. When the aradjang is taken out, the bissu from many kampongs gather in Watampone and dance. I asked if every wanua has an aradjang. They do not. However, there are some kampongs that have them. The bissu handle and take out these lesser aradjang too. This also would bear research.

838 Andi went on and on about the scandalous behavior of the
548 ordinary homosexuals (tjalabai). They dress and act like women and are found everywhere. There are many in Watampone. They swish and flirt and stick rolled up handkerchiefs in their blouses to imitate breasts. Andi says that many men are crazy about them and spend lots of time and money to have sex with them. He was surprised that I had seen none. I do remember at the pasar malam that I had seen a "girl" in a bright red blouse (kabaya), and a well painted face. "She"

000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence

586 of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kam-
595 pong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-

[342] nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place